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(scheduled for 1982, followed by the presidential election in 1983).¹³ Suharto seemed to be saying that this would not be the case, and was signaling his intention to preserve the integrity of "Pancasila" by continuing in office, at least until 1988.

CONCLUSION

Hopes for a phased withdrawal of the military from partisan association with particular political groups and from being a "dead tool" in the hands of civilian government,¹⁴ had received much fillip from the surprise appointment of General Jusuf in April, 1979, after 13 years of non-military work, most recently as Minister of Industry.¹⁵ His immediate burst of "barrackroom-storming," his concern for the lot of the ordinary soldier, his clean broom approach to corruption and mismanagement, and his "disarming frankness" during the year's interim make him a frequent suggestion as Suharto's successor (though his non-Javanese origins and devout Muslim beliefs would run counter to such expectations, and Jusuf has disclaimed presidential aspirations). Although also of "the generation of '45," he is undertaking a systematic reform program at all levels of Indonesia's 270,000 army personnel, and has "tipped the scales" in favor of the "Magelang generation." It remains to be seen whether he is able to fulfill the brave promise

¹³See Rodney Tasker, "Democracy and the New Order," *FEER*, January 5, 1979. An additional 100 seats in Parliament are filled by the President to represent the armed forces, whose members are not allowed to campaign or vote. See R. William Liddle, "The 1977 Indonesian Election and New Order Legitimacy," *Southeast Asian Affairs, 1978* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1978).

¹⁴This is General A.H. Nasution's term, in his "middle-way" speech in 1958, outlining what above all should be avoided in devising and administering an appropriate role for the military in Indonesia's future.

¹⁵See David Jenkins, "Gen. Jusuf: A Man from the Past Leads the March to the Future," *FEER*, March 2, 1979.

that many invest in his potential for upgrading and professionalizing the armed forces, taking a middle-of-the-road neutral yet stabilizing posture, and acting as a mediator in the event of a struggle for succession of a "young Turk" or "old guard" coup.

The legacy of events in East Timor, the uneasy situation in Irian Jaya, and the periodically resurgent "secessionist sentiments" elsewhere in the Outer Islands will also call for careful handling and the build-up of mutual respect and loyalty between the military and the public.

In Asia, east of the Sea of Araby, Indonesia is often portrayed as the "brightest bonanza in the firmament" for multinationals seeking to find mutual self-interests with decision-makers in LDC's to promote "accelerated resource development and modernization." They are very good at what they do, and are often indispensable, even to countries like China, intent upon mobilizing their resources for particular purposes. The "free floating" nature of the social dividend that they split with host nations, especially where it accrues largely as rents from rich bonanzas, should be a definite advantage to planners seeking to mobilize resources for the difficult (sometimes not "directly productive") effort to eradicate poverty.

Obviously this needs political will, some concept of a workable strategy, and an administrative or resource-disbursing institutional framework that extends down to the poor people. These generalizations appear self-evident, and yet a block seems to arise in devising the means to bring it off. Intricate and often hidden mechanisms come into play that lay claim to the surplus and commit it to other uses, the priority to "redistribute" is postponed, or hope is expressed that inequities will in the end be somehow "self-correcting" if only the economy grows fast enough. Commitments to expenditure build up faster than even the most extraordinary rush of revenues. Like Alice in Wonderland, one has to run faster and faster just to stay, more or less, in the same place.

